

**The Uesugi:
a study of a Japanese warrior family's political and military
involvement in eastern Japan, 1252-1455**

***1: Early association with Court and warriors and emergence on the
politico-military stage of eastern Japan, 1252-1336***

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Foreword and acknowledgements.

The following essay is the first of a projected series of essays collectively entitled *The Uesugi: a study of a Japanese warrior family's political and military involvement in eastern Japan, 1252-1455*. It is based on chapter one of my PhD dissertation, *Uesugi Kenshin: a study of the military career of a sixteenth century warlord*, inasmuch as small parts of that chapter have been revised and significantly enlarged. The subsequent essays in the series, several of which are close to being finished, will likewise be based on chapter one.

1252 is the natural starting point for the series as it was the year the Uesugi family's founder, a nobleman from Kyoto, settled in the city of Kamakura. 1455 has been chosen as the series' endpoint because it marks the beginning of the end of the Uesugi's political and military influence in eastern Japan (though this was surely not apparent at the time): that year the predominant position the family (the branch known as the Yamanouchi Uesugi, to be precise) had come to occupy in the Kantō about fifteen years earlier began weakening, never to be restored, as the region entered the age of widespread military conflict known as the *sengoku* period.¹

The following essay examines the Uesugi family's early history from around the time of its establishment to early 1336, the time when war broke out between the Ashikaga (to whom the Uesugi had been, and continued to be, allied) and the imperial government. It was a period which saw a modest prospering of the family (in terms of land and office), a prospering, it goes without saying, no one could predict the fate of in early 1336. We know, with the benefit of hindsight, that the prospering continued as the Ashikaga established their new political order, but there can be no doubt that things would have turned out quite differently, had the government emerged victorious from the war. It is thus appropriate to end the essay in early 1336.

I am deeply indebted to Tōkai University in Japan for granting me a three months stay as a guest researcher at its Department of History, Shōnan campus, at the outset of the project, and to the Scandinavia-Japan Sasakawa Foundation in Denmark for generously financing the attending travel expenses.

I am also very grateful to a number of people for all the encouragement, feedback and help I have received while working on the series so far (help with financing a second study tour to Japan, procuring primary and secondary sources from Japan, taking care of all sorts of practical matters in both Denmark and Japan during my stays in the latter, and much more). My thanks go to my PhD supervisor and mentor both during and after my years as a student at the University of Copenhagen, the late Olof G. Lidin; to my late parents Gudrun and Ib Darling; to friends Tine Lykke Prado, Claus Gymoese Berthelsen and Niels Tryde

Munch; and to the following at Tōkai University during my stint there: Ishimaru Hiroshi, Bente Høilund, Taguchi Yuki, Taguma Hideyoshi, and the staff at the university's International Residence in the city of Hadano, Kanagawa Prefecture.

In relation to the following essay, specifically, I wish to express my profound gratitude to Japan's Yonezawa City Uesugi Museum and the owner of the sculpture shown on p. 3 for permissions to reproduce a picture of said sculpture; to the museum for providing me with the picture; and to Thomas D. Conlan of Princeton University for providing me with the notes he used for the presentation '*Where West Meets East: The Courtly Warriors of the Kamakura Age*' at the AAS Annual Meeting in 2010 (notes which, while not the kind of material that lends itself to being cited as a secondary source, were inspiring to read and prompted me to re-examine some primary sources).

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Early association with Court and warriors and emergence on the politico-military stage of eastern Japan, 1252-1336.

The Uesugi family was established by a Kyoto nobleman, Kajūji Shigefusa (?-?), who was of Fujiwara descent and served at the imperial court as chamberlain (*kurōdo*) to Imperial Princess Shikikenmon'in (1197-1251) sometime in the thirteenth century.² Shigefusa's branch of the Kajūji family had a long tradition of providing chamberlains to members of the imperial family, with both his father, grandfather and a couple of more distant ancestors having held such positions,³ and the tradition continued with his son, Uesugi Yorishige (?-?), Yorishige's three sons Norifusa (?-1336), Yorinari (1278/79-1346) and Shigeaki,⁴ and Shigeaki's son Shigefuji.⁵



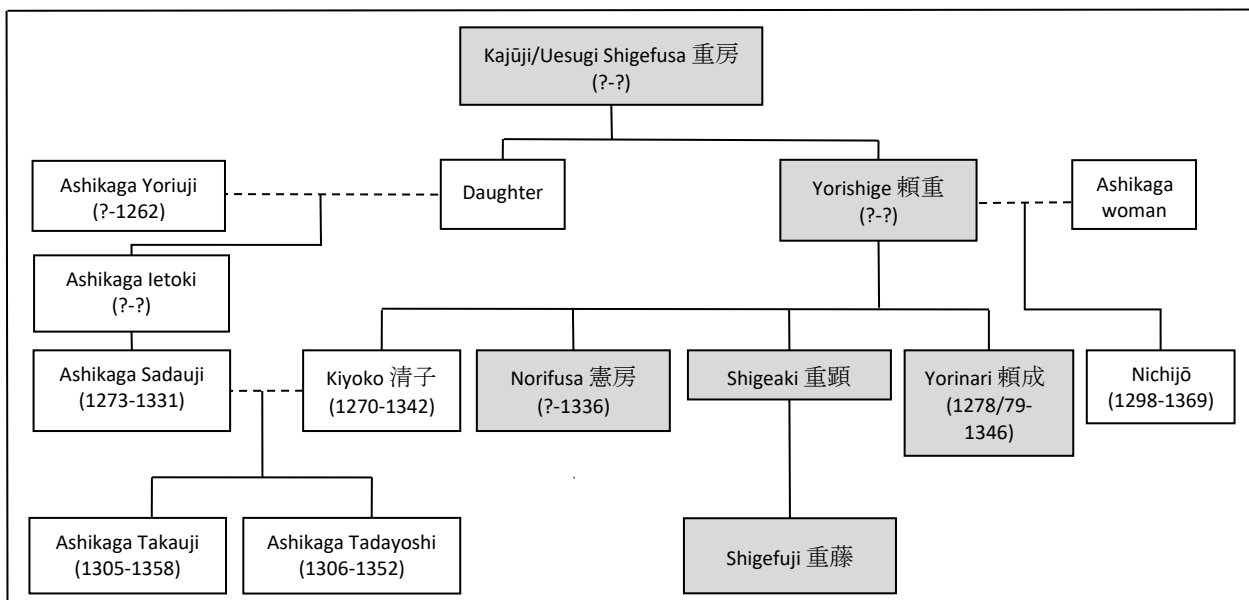
Sculpture of Uesugi Shigefusa (from a private collection). Photograph kindly provided by the Yonezawa City Uesugi Museum, Japan, and reproduced here with its permission as well as with that of the sculpture's owner (image copyright: Yonezawa City, Japan).

At some point in his life Shigefusa 'went to Kamakura in attendance on Imperial Prince Munetaka.'⁶ Munetaka (1242-1274) was Shikikenmon'in's adopted son and heir to her extensive landholdings,⁷ and it seems very likely, as has been conjectured, that he came into contact with Shigefusa through her.⁸ As for the journey to Kamakura, it was undoubtedly the one Munetaka embarked on from Kyoto in Kenchō 4 (1252) in order to take up his post as the sixth shogun of the Kamakura shogunate. And it has been convincingly argued that Shigefusa was included in the entourage because he had by then entered the service of one of Munetaka's ladies-in-waiting.⁹

It was around the time of the journey that Shigefusa obtained possession of the Uesugi estate (*shōen*) in Tanba Province (Uesugichō in the present-day city of Ayabe, Kyoto Prefecture) and changed his family name to Uesugi, thus establishing himself as the founder of a new family; and also that he married off a daughter to a member of the Ashikaga, a warrior family already settled in the Kantō with close ties to the

shogunate's leading Hōjō family.¹⁰ It has been conjectured that he came into contact with the Ashikaga through the offices of a fellow aristocratic family,¹¹ and the most likely explanation for his seeking (or accepting, as the case may have been) a marital relationship with them is that he considered them potentially useful for the prospering of his own family, powerful and well-established in the east as they were. As we shall argue in the next section, the relationship turned out to be just that.

Shigefusa's daughter married Ashikaga Yoriuji (?-1262).¹² The marriage produced a son, Ietoki (?-?), and his son Sadauji (1273-1331), in turn, married a daughter to Uesugi Yorishige, Kiyoko (or Seishi) (1270-1342).¹³ Kiyoko famously became the mother of both the future shogun, Ashikaga Takauji (1305-1358), and his brother, Tadayoshi (1306-1352).¹⁴ Yorishige, for his part, had a son by an Ashikaga woman, the Buddhist monk Nichijō (1298-1369).¹⁵



A genealogy of the early Uesugi generations with their marital relationships to the Ashikaga. Grey boxes indicate those who served at the imperial court as chamberlains.

The Ashikaga were not the only warrior family with which Shigefusa and his descendants forged ties during the Kamakura period. When Shigefusa went to Kamakura in Kenchō 4 (1252) he brought with him an assistant named Kagehiro (?-?), a warrior who belonged to a Kyoto-based branch of the eastern warrior family Nagao, and who once in Kamakura became Shigefusa's retainer.¹⁶ Also a member of a Nagao branch based in Sagami in the Kantō, Kagetame (?-?), became an Uesugi retainer a couple of generations later.¹⁷ The relationship between the Uesugi and the Nagao would prove to be long-lasting: for many generations the latter would provide retainers for the former and become enrolled into the politico-military organisation of the Muromachi shogunate as deputies to them. But as far as the decades under consideration in this essay are concerned, nothing more is known about it.

We have noted that the most likely reason for Shigefusa's marrying off a daughter to a member of the Ashikaga is that he considered the family potentially useful for the prospering of the Uesugi. As it turned out, the Uesugi did indeed prosper, to some extent, during the eighty-odd years after Shigefusa's arrival in Kamakura, especially immediately after the fall of the Kamakura shogunate in Genkō 3 (1333). And as we shall argue in the following, they did so mostly because of the Ashikaga: because the Ashikaga recruited (or ensured the recruitment of) members of the family as their subordinates for the management of estates, provinces and the Kantō region, and as advisors; and because they rewarded those rendering military service with land or office. There was one appointment, to a government institution dealing with litigation, which was likely made without the Ashikaga's having any say in the matter, but serving the Ashikaga, one way or another, clearly lay at the heart of the Uesugi's prospering, limited though it seems to have been.

The earliest example of an Uesugi serving the Ashikaga is that of 'the lay monk (*nyūdō*) Uesugi Saburō,' i.e. Shigefusa's son Yorishige, who in Einin 2 (1294) was employed as an estate administrator, or possibly as the head of a group of administrators.¹⁸

Later, during the conflict that resulted in the destruction of the shogunate in the 5th month of Genkō 3 (1333, the so-called Genkō Disturbance), members of the family appear to have rendered military service to Ashikaga Takauji. We have no direct evidence of military activities on their part, but we do have strong indications: not long after the disturbance they were granted land and (in one case) appointed to office, by the Ashikaga.¹⁹

There exists a document in the *Hishijima Monjo* collection which lists some of the Hōjō landholdings confiscated by the Ashikaga after the Genkō Disturbance.²⁰ Another document reveals that on the 29th day of the 12th month, Genkō 3 (early 1334) Takauji made Norifusa his military estate steward (*jitō*) of one of those holdings, namely Nagoya village (*gō*) in the province of Izu, as a reward for 'meritorious service.'²¹ Furthermore, Norifusa and one Uesugi Gorō received part of another confiscated Hōjō landholding, Muroga village in Shinano,²² and a document, dated the same date, not only grants Uesugi Gorō Usami village in Izu 'as a reward for meritorious service' but also indicates that he had been given Hase village in Sagami.²³ Hase was part of the Yamanouchi estate, another Hōjō landholding confiscated by the Ashikaga.²⁴

There were more grants of land. Uesugi Shigeyoshi (?-1350) was Norifusa's adopted son (his mother was a sister to Norifusa),²⁵ and he received, firstly, the villages of Iwase and Akiba, both also part of the Yamanouchi estate;²⁶ and secondly, parts of two former Hōjō estates in Hyūga, Kunitomi and Shimazu.²⁷

Both Norifusa and Shigeyoshi also appear in historical sources as serving the Ashikaga in non-military ways during the Genkō Disturbance. Norifusa was, according to the early-fifteenth-century chronicle *Nantaiheiki*, involved in Takauji's decision to shift his allegiance from the Kamakura shogunate to Emperor

Godaigo (1288-1339) in Genkō 3 (1333), with Takauji both seeking his view on what to do and dispatching him to sound out the opinion of a fellow warrior.²⁸ And in the 4th month the same year, after Takauji had decided to support the emperor but before his attack on the shogunate's Kyoto headquarters, he put Norifusa in charge of a religious ceremony, held at a temple close by the Uesugi's ancestral lands in Tanba for the purpose of ensuring victory in the upcoming battle.²⁹ In short, Norifusa appears to have been a trusted advisor and assistant to Takauji.

Shigeyoshi also appears in an early source as a close assistant to Takauji, if only in a very short glimpse: according to the mid-fourteenth-century chronicle *Baishōron*, he was one of a pair of Ashikaga supporters who received, on behalf of Takauji, an imperial edict ordering the latter to take up arms against the shogunate just prior to his attack on the its Kyoto headquarters.³⁰

After the destruction of the shogunate we again find members of the Uesugi serving the Ashikaga; indeed, we have already encountered one example of this, namely Norifusa as Takauji's military estate steward of Nagoya village. Shigeyoshi and his uncle Yorinari are other examples: the province of Musashi had become Takauji's proprietary province (*chigyōkoku*) after the shogunate's fall,³¹ and two documents from late Genkō 3 and early Kenmu 1, respectively, (both early 1334) indicate that Shigeyoshi was assisting him with its management;³² Yorinari, for his part, can be inferred from a document dated 18th day of the 11th month, Kenmu 1 (1334) to have assisted Tadayoshi in Sagami,³³ a province the latter had been appointed governor of in Genkō 3 (1333).³⁴ The position of both Shigeyoshi and Yorinari was that of personal deputy (*mokudai*).³⁵

It is likely that also Shigeaki served Takauji one way or the other at the time. Shigeaki had a son, Tomosada (1321-1352),³⁶ whose name appears in a document listing the around fifty warriors which constituted the retinue of Takauji during a visit to the Kamo shrines near Kyoto in on the 27th day of the 9th month, Kenmu 1 (1334).³⁷ The excursion to the shrines was actually an imperial event, with Takauji being in attendance on Emperor Godaigo,³⁸ and the inclusion in it of Tomosada, a youth of only twelve or thirteen at the time, strongly indicates that Takauji considered his father a valued subordinate (and Tomosada a potential future one).

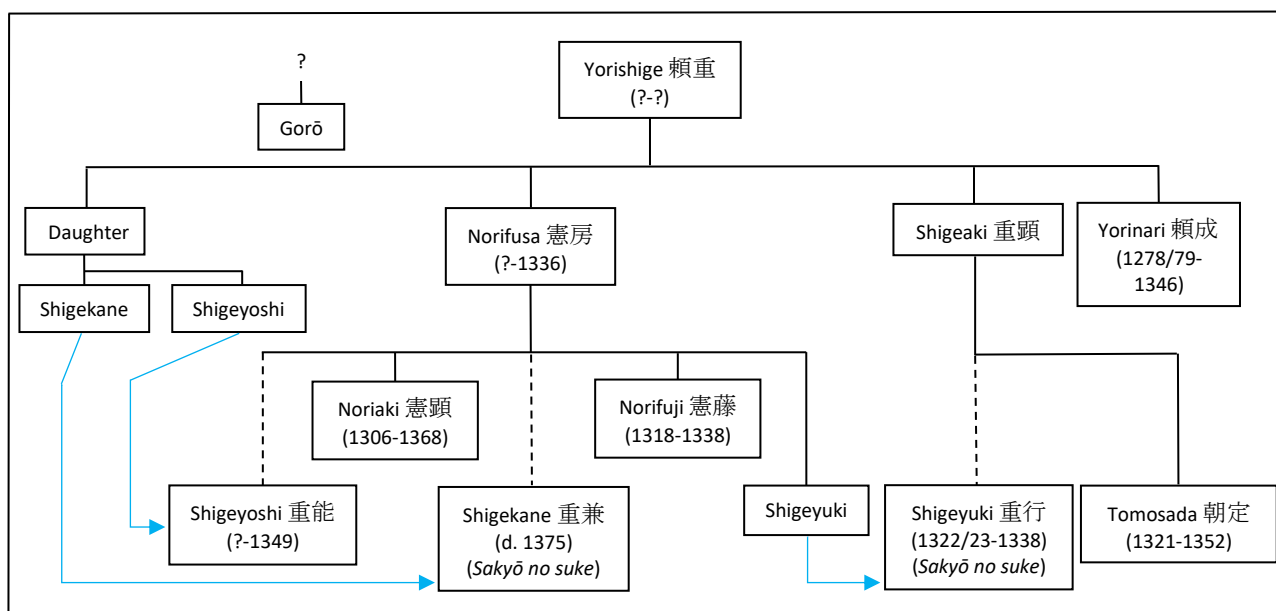
Finally, Takauji's suppression of a Kantō rebellion in the last half of Kenmu 2 (1335), the so-called Nakasendai Rebellion, again saw members of the Uesugi family assisting him militarily,³⁹ for instance one Uesugi *shuri no suke* who fought rebel forces at the provincial capital of Suruga on the 14th day of the 8th month.⁴⁰ '*Shuri no suke*' was a bureaucratic title with which both Norifusa's brother, Shigeaki, and a son of his, Norifuji (1318-1338), were invested,⁴¹ and it seems that they were the only ones to have been so among the Uesugi who provided, or might conceivably have been old enough to provide, the Ashikaga with military assistance at the time. So we may reasonably assume that the Uesugi who fought in Suruga on the

14th day of the 8th month was either Shigeaki or Norifuji.⁴²

Norifusa himself can also confidently be assumed to have participated in the suppression of the rebellion: he was subsequently granted land in Harima by Takauji,⁴³ and, it is believed, in Echigo.⁴⁴

Members of the Uesugi family also served the Ashikaga in other, more indirect, ways after the destruction of the Kamakura shogunate: they were enrolled into government institutions, but they were so, as we shall argue below, because the Ashikaga, rather than the government, desired their enrolment; because Takauji and Tadayoshi wanted them as their subordinates.

We know of five such appointments. Firstly, Norifusa's brother Yorinari was made head (*ōgoumaya*) of the Kantō *hisashiban* in early Kenmu 1 (1334).⁴⁵ The *hisashiban* was an advisory and guard body and part of the administrative and military organisation responsible for the management of the eastern provinces, the Kamakura *fu*, which had been established the same year by Emperor Godaigo with a son of his as its head.⁴⁶



A genealogy of the Uesugi who served, or are believed to have served, the Ashikaga prior to the outbreak of the latter's military conflict with Emperor Godaigo in 1336.

Furthermore, Norifusa had a son, Noriaki (1306-1368),⁴⁷ whose name appears on a list of *hisashiban* members in an entry for Kenmu 1 (1334) in the near-contemporaneous chronicle *Kenmu Nenkan*.⁴⁸ Also on the list we find Shigeyoshi and an unnamed warrior – he appears only as 'sakyō no suke,' a bureaucratic title – who, it has been variously conjectured, was Uesugi Shigekane (d. 1375) and Uesugi Shigeyuki (1322/23-1338).⁴⁹ Shigekane was Norifusa's adopted son (born to the same woman as Shigeyoshi), while Shigeyuki was a son of his by birth (but adopted by Shigeaki), and both were, or would become, invested with the title of *sakyō no suke*.⁵⁰ Among the Uesugi known to have been so, they seem to be the only ones old enough in Kenmu 1 (1334) to be enrolled into the *hisashiban*, so if *Kenmu Nenkan*'s *sakyō no suke*

really was an Uesugi, he was most likely one of them.

Finally, we may infer from a document in the *Yatabe Monjo* collection that by 6th day of the 3rd month the same year early Shigeyoshi had been appointed governor of a province: the document is signed 'The governor of Izu' (*Izu no kami*) together with a monogram identified as that of Shigeyoshi.⁵¹

It was Ashikaga Tadayoshi who appointed Yorinari head of the Kantō *hisashiban*,⁵² and as the Kamakura *fu* in practice was his creation and de facto led by him,⁵³ it is unlikely that he was not acting on his own decision when doing so. For the same reason it is also unlikely that it was not he who decided on, or at least had the final say in, the *hisashiban* appointments of Shigeyoshi, Noriaki and Uesugi *sakyō no suke*.

With regard to Shigeyoshi's appointment to the Izu governorship, there can, of course, be no doubt that it was made by the government: to make such appointments was its prerogative. But as the Japanese scholar Satō Shin'ichi has opined, he was probably appointed at Takauji's suggestion,⁵⁴ that is, because the latter wanted him as governor. At first glance this seems rather surprising, since provincial governorships at the time were meant to be instruments for direct imperial control over the provinces and not the sinecures they had been prior to Emperor Godaigo's advent.⁵⁵ But the government had made Izu Takauji's proprietary province after the Kamakura shogunate's fall,⁵⁶ and in terms of provincial authority, Takauji ranked higher than the governor.⁵⁷ It is therefore not farfetched to assume that under such circumstances, the government considered its interests better served by appointing Takauji's candidate than by appointing one of its own, inasmuch as the appointment of the former might ensure a more stable and smoothly run administration of the province than that of the latter.

In the preceding section we have seen how the Uesugi prospered after it had come into contact with the Ashikaga: how members of the family entered the service, military and otherwise, of the latter, were granted land, and were enrolled into government institutions at the behest, and as subordinates, of either Takauji or Tadayoshi. As already mentioned, however, there was one more appointment of an Uesugi to a government position, one that was likely made by the government for its own benefit. Around the beginning of the 9th month of Genkō 3 (1333) Emperor Godaigo inaugurated a court for settling warrior-related litigation, the *Zasso ketsudansho*. All the top positions were staffed with Godaigo's closest advisors, but at the lower rungs of the organisation we find former shogunate officials and other warriors. That is not surprising, since the government could obtain considerable advantages by enrolling warriors from different groupings, especially the political one of demonstrating that it held national authority over the whole warrior society and meant to respond to its needs.⁵⁸

On the court we also find a few Ashikaga supporters, one of whom was Uesugi Norifusa.⁵⁹ From the beginning he was assigned to a section dealing with litigation from provinces in western Japan but was

later, upon the court's reorganisation in the 8th month of Kenmu 1 (1334), moved to one responsible for several eastern provinces.⁶⁰ He was apparently made an advisor with no judicial involvement in rulings or procedures, and it has been conjectured that he and the other Ashikaga supporters were appointed as a concession to Takauji.⁶¹ But as we have noted, the government could obtain significant benefits by enrolling representatives from different warrior contingents, and viewed in that light, the appointment of Ashikaga supporters seems more likely to have been made by the government because it actually wanted them on the court. Therefore it is reasonable to conclude that the government contributed to the Uesugi's prospering. But as the contribution was a low-level position of little influence, at an institution very much controlled by the government, it was marginal compared to those of the Ashikaga. By far, the family owed its prospering to the latter, right up to the distribution of land rewards after the Nakasendai Rebellion.

After the suppression of that rebellion, in the 9th month of Kenmu 2 (1335,) Ashikaga Takauji began strengthening his position in the Kantō, exercising shogunal authority he had not been granted by Godaigo, and ended up being declared a rebel by the emperor.⁶² So on the 19th day of the 11th month, Kenmu 2 (early 1336) an imperial army was dispatched from Kyoto to subjugate the Ashikaga.⁶³

One beneficiary of Takauji's exercising shogunal authority was Uesugi Norifusa. Just prior to the imperial army's embarking on its eastwards campaign Takauji appointed him military governor (*shugo*) of Kōzuke Province.⁶⁴ Clearly, he was still regarded an ally that could be relied on, and clearly he found the new political order Takauji was establishing worth being associated with. So it is not surprising that we find him supporting the Ashikaga during the armed conflict with the imperial regime that followed. Several other members of the family can also be identified as Ashikaga supporters during that conflict, and it is their involvement in it, plus (of course) that of Norifusa himself, that is the subject of the following essay.

Notes.

Abbreviations used in the following:

DNK: Dainihon Komonjo, iewake 12	KS: Kagoshima Shiryō, kyūki satsuroku shūi	ZGR: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū
DNS: Dainihon Shiryō	SK: Shizuoka Kenshi, shiryōhen	
GR: Gunsho Ruijū	SNKB: Shinsen Nihon Koten Bunko	
KI: Kamakura Ibun, komonjohen	SZKT: Shintei Zōho Kokushi Taikei	
KK: Kanagawa Kenshi, shiryōhen	TK: Tochigi Kenshi, shiryōhen	

- ¹ The *sengoku* period is, of course, usually taken to have begun in 1467 with the outbreak of the Ōnin War in Kyoto, but I concur with opinion expressed by the Japanese scholar Imatani Akira, namely that in eastern Japan it began in 1455, 'one step ahead of the rest of the country' (Imatani Akira, *Muromachi local government: shugo and kokujin*, p. 233). For the conflicts on the nature of which the aptness of regarding 1455 the starting point of the region's *sengoku* period hinges, see my *Uesugi Kenshin: a study of the military career of a sixteenth century warlord*, pp. 24-27.
- ² *Uesugi Keizu* in *ZGR 6, ge, keizubu*, pp. 55-57. Shigefusa's family name occasionally appears in secondary sources as 'Kanjuji,' 'Kanjūji,' 'Kanshūji' or 'Kanshuji.' The name is written 勧修寺, and 'Kajūji' seems to be the most widely accepted reading of these characters nowadays.
Persons' years of birth and death, including the '?', are from Yasuda Motohisa (ed.), *Kamakura Muromachi jinmei jiten konpakutohan* unless otherwise noted. These years are, as we have seen, Gregorian-calendar years, but all other years, throughout the following, are written: JAPANESE PERIOD NAME followed by YEAR NUMBER followed by a pair of brackets with the corresponding year according to the Gregorian calendar.
- ³ See *Uesugi Keizu* in *ZGR 6, ge, keizubu*, p. 56.
- ⁴ *Uesugi Keizu* in *ZGR 6, ge, keizubu*, pp. 57-58. *Sonpi Bunmyaku* in *SZKT 59*, pp. 132-134. The two sources differ as to who served whom, but Kubota Jun'ichi, *Chūsei bushi sensho 13: Uesugi Noriaki*, pp. 30-31, clarifies it convincingly. (Yorishige's 'dates' are from Hanagasaki Moriaki, *Uesugi Kenshin*, p. 386; Yorinari's can be inferred from an entry in the chronicle *Jōrakuki* in *GR 29, zōbu 68*, p. 218.)
- ⁵ *Sonpi Bunmyaku* in *SZKT 59*, p. 133. For a genealogy of the Uesugi touched upon in this section, see p. 4.
- ⁶ *Uesugi Keizu* in *ZGR 6, ge, keizubu*, p. 57.
- ⁷ Tanabe Hisako, *Jinbutsu sōsho (shinsōhan) 222: Uesugi Norizane*, p. 1.
- ⁸ See Kubota Jun'ichi, *Chūsei bushi sensho 13: ...*, p. 18.
- ⁹ See Kubota Jun'ichi, *Chūsei bushi sensho 13: ...*, pp. 19-21.
- ¹⁰ Tanabe Hisako, *Jinbutsu sōsho ...*, pp. 1-3.
- ¹¹ See Kubota Jun'ichi, *Chūsei bushi sensho 13: ...*, pp. 21-23 and 27-28, and Yamada Toshiyasu, *Nanbokuchō ni okeru Uesugi ichizoku*, pp. 75-76. According to Kubota the family in question was the Tsuchimikado, while Yamada holds it to have been the Shijō.
- ¹² *Fukaya Uesugi Keizu* in *ZGR 6, ge, keizubu*, p. 105.
- ¹³ *Sonpi Bunmyaku* in *SZKT 59*, pp. 133-134, and *SZKT 60, jō*, p. 251. 'Kiyoko' and 'Seishi' are, of course, two different readings of the same characters, 清子. Both readings appear in secondary sources. (Kiyoko's dates are from Karen M. Gerhart, *Reconstructing the life of Uesugi Kiyoko*, p. 3.)
- ¹⁴ *Sonpi Bunmyaku* in *SZKT 59*, p. 134. For further details of Kiyoko's life, see Karen M. Gerhart, *Reconstructing the life of Uesugi Kiyoko*.
- ¹⁵ *Honge Bettō Busso Tōki* in *DNS 6, 1*, p. 717.
- ¹⁶ Katsumori Sumi, *Kantō Nagaoshi no kenkyū*, p. 13.
- ¹⁷ *Nagao Keizu* in *ZGR 6, jō, keizubu*, p. 250. *Uesugike Monjo* in *DNK 2*, p. 355, doc. no. 950. (Kagetame's 'dates' are from Hanagasaki Moriaki, *Chūsei Echigo no rekishi; bushō to kojō o saguru*, p. 117.)
- ¹⁸ *Mutsu Kuramochi Monjo* in *KI 24*, p. 99, doc. no. 18447. For a conjecture that Yorishige was the head of a group of administrators, see Kubota Jun'ichi, *Chūsei bushi sensho 13: ...*, pp. 34-36. For a genealogy of the Uesugi touched upon in the following, see p. 7.
- ¹⁹ For the destruction of the shogunate, see Andrew E. Goble, *Kenmu, Go-Daigo's revolution*, p. 105-136. Specifically, Takauji's military involvement in the disturbance, from the 3rd to the 5th month, Genkō 3 (1333), it is outlined on pp. 132-134.

- ²⁰ Yuyama Manabu, *Ashikagaryō to Uesugishi no kankei*, p. 24. The document is no. 3141 in *KK 3, kodai chūsei 3, jō*, p. 1.
- ²¹ *Uesugike Monjo* in *DNK 1*, p. 5, doc. no. 9.
- ²² *Abo Monjo*, cited in Yuyama Manabu, *Ashikagaryō to Uesugishi ...*, p. 24.
- ²³ *Uesugike Monjo* in *DNK 3*, pp. 231-232, doc. no. 1182.
- ²⁴ Yuyama Manabu, *Ashikagaryō to Uesugishi ...*, p. 24.
- ²⁵ *Uesugi Keizu* in *ZGR 6, ge, keizubu*, pp. 58 and 61.
- ²⁶ *Kanazawa Bunko Monjo* in *KK 2, kodai chūsei 2*, p. 1034, doc. no. 3127. *Enkakuji Monjo* in *KK 3, kodai chūsei 3, jō*, pp. 108-110, doc. no. 3438.
- ²⁷ Yuyama Manabu, *Ashikagaryō to Uesugishi ...*, p. 24.
- ²⁸ *Nantaiheiki* in *GR 21, kassenbu*, p. 612.
- ²⁹ *Shakuōji Monjo*, cited in Yamada Toshiyasu, *Nanbokuchō ni okeru ...*, p. 77.
- ³⁰ *Baishōron* in *SNKB 3*, pp. 56-57.
- ³¹ Yuyama Manabu, *Uesugishi*, p. 202.
- ³² *Hagihan Batsuetsuroku* and *Bushū Monjo* in *DNS 6, 1*, pp. 337-338 and p. 447, respectively.
- ³³ *Takuma Monjo* in *DNS 6, 2*, p. 39.
- ³⁴ Yasuda Motohisa (ed.), *Kamakura Muromachi jinmei jiten ...*, p. 22.
- ³⁵ Yuyama Manabu *Muromachi jidai no Izu no kuni ni kansuru yosatsu – zenpen; Yamanouchi Uesugishi no shugo ryōgoku shihai keisei katei*, p. 252
- ³⁶ *Uesugi Keizu* in *ZGR 6, ge, keizubu*, p. 58.
- ³⁷ *Kobayakawake Monjo* in *TK, chūsei 4*, pp. 251-252, doc. no. 2.
- ³⁸ Andrew E. Goble, *Kenmu ...*, p. 248 and p. 338, note 4.
- ³⁹ For the rebellion and Takauji's suppression of it, see Andrew E. Goble, *Kenmu ...*, pp. 246-249.
- ⁴⁰ *Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan Shozō Monjo* in *KK 3, kodai chūsei 3, jō*, pp. 33-34, doc. no. 3231.
- ⁴¹ *Uesugi Keizu, asabahon* in *ZGR 6, ge, keizubu*, pp. 90 and 94.
- ⁴² Both Yuyama Manabu, *Kenmu shinseiki no Kamakura gosho; 'Kantō hisashiban sadamefumi' ni kansuru kōsatsu*, p. 24, and Yamada Toshiyasu, *Nanbokuchō ni okeru ...*, p. 84, assert that it was Norifuji, albeit without giving us any arguments in support of the assertion.
- ⁴³ *Uesugi Keizu Taigai* in Katagiri Akihiko, *Yamanouchi Uesugishi Echigo shugo Uesugishi no keizu to keifu – Yonezawa Uesugi kahon no kisoteki kōsatsu*, p. 80.
- ⁴⁴ It is clear from doc. no. 125 in *Uesugike Monjo (DNK 1, p. 78)* that Norifusa was granted land in Echigo at some point. For the time the grant was made, see Yamada Toshiyasu in *Nanbokuchō ni okeru ...*, p. 77.
- ⁴⁵ *Uesugike Monjo* in *DNK 1*, p. 6, doc. no. 10. Andrew E. Goble, *Kenmu ...*, p. 335, note 105, argues convincingly why the document is a letter of appointment to the position of head of the Kantō *hisashiban* despite its reference to what appears to be an altogether different institution. (Goble here calls Yorinari for 'Yorishige.' The name is written 頼成, and while these characters can, of course, be read as both 'Yorinari' and 'Yorishige,' it seems unlikely that his name was the same as that of his father.)
- ⁴⁶ Andrew E. Goble, *Kenmu ...*, p. 237.
- ⁴⁷ *Uesugi Keizu* in *ZGR 6, ge, keizubu*, p. 62.
- ⁴⁸ *Kenmu Nenkanki* in *GR 25, zōbu 1*, p. 493.
- ⁴⁹ *Kenmu Nenkanki* in *GR 25, zōbu 1*, pp. 492-493. For the identification of *sakyō no suke* as Shigekane and Shigeyuki, see Shichinomiya Keizō, *Kantō kanrei Uesugi ichizoku*, p. 48 (Shigekane), and Kubota Jun'ichi, *Chūsei bushi sensho 13: ...*, p. 44 (Shigeyuki). None of these scholars present arguments in support of their opinions. (The dates are from *Uesugi Keizu, asabahon* in *ZGR 6, ge, keizubu*, pp. 91-94.)
- ⁵⁰ *Uesugi Keizu, asabahon* in *ZGR 6, ge, keizubu*, p. 94.
- ⁵¹ *Yatabe Monjo* in *SK 6, chūsei 2*, p. 16, doc. no. 35. For the identification of the monogram as that of Shigeyoshi, see Satō Shin'ichi, *Muromachi Bakufu shugo seido no kenkyū, jō; nanbokuchōki shokoku shugo enkaku kōshōhen*, p. 117.
- ⁵² The letter of appointment, with Tadayoshi's monogram, is the document cited in note 45, above.
- ⁵³ Itō Kiyoshi, *Shoki no Kamakurafu*, p. 259. Andrew E. Goble, *Kenmu ...*, p. 237.
- ⁵⁴ See Satō Shin'ichi, *Muromachi Bakufu shugo seido no kenkyū, jō ...*, p. 117.
- ⁵⁵ For this change in the nature of the office of provincial governor, see Andrew E. Goble, *Kenmu ...*, p. 183.

- ⁵⁶ Yuyama Manabu, *Uesugishi*, p. 202.
- ⁵⁷ Satō Shin'ichi, *Muromachi Bakufu shugo seido no kenkyū, jō ...*, pp. 116-117.
- ⁵⁸ For the establishment and organisation of the *Zasso ketsudansho* ('The Claims Court'), and for the benefits to be obtained by enrolling warriors, see Andrew E. Goble, *Kenmu ...*, pp. 150-159.
- ⁵⁹ *Hishijima Monjo* in *KS, shoshi keifu 3*, p. 721, doc. no. 155.
- ⁶⁰ *Hishijima Monjo* in *KS, shoshi keifu 3*, p. 721, doc. no. 155. *Zasso Ketsudansho Ketsuban Kyōmyō* in *ZGR 31, ge, zōbu 1*, pp. 629-630. For the court's reorganisation, see Andrew E. Goble, *Kenmu ...*, pp. 157-158.
- ⁶¹ Andrew E. Goble, *Kenmu ...*, p. 153.
- ⁶² Andrew E. Goble, *Kenmu ...*, pp. 249-251.
- ⁶³ *Jinnō Shōtōki* and *Genkō Nikki Uragaki* in *DNS 6, 2*, pp. 705-706.
- ⁶⁴ *Baishōron* in *SNKB 3*, p. 72.

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